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AN

HISTORICAL DESCRIPTION

OF

DUNKIRK,

FROM

ITS ORIGIN IN 646 TO THE YEAR 1785.

BY H. E. DIOT.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR W. FADEN, GEOGRAPHER TO HIS MAJESTY, AND TO
HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCE OF WALES,
CHARING-CROSS.
1794.

AN

HISTORICAL DESCRIPTION

OF

FROM

BY H. E. DIOT.

TO

MONSEIGNEUR DE CALONNE.

MY LORD,

To whom can this Description of Dunkirk be presented with greater propriety, than to the benevolent Minister who has for so many years protected and promoted its interests? How happy shall I esteem myself, if this Work, founded upon sure and faithful documents, shall meet with a favourable reception from you; and if you deign to accept it, as an humble tribute of that gratitude which I feel in common with my fellow-citizens, and of the profound respect and zeal with which I remain,

MY LORD,

Your Lordship's most humble,

and obedient servant,

H. E. DIOT.

DUNKIRK, JULY 31, 1785.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE Manuscript from which the following Historical Account of Dunkirk has been translated, was written by M. Dlot for the use of Monseigneur de Calonne, formerly comptroller of the finances of France, and was purchased in the sale of that nobleman's library last year. It describes the progressive importance of the town and harbour of Dunkirk, from the first establishment to the year 1785; the various sieges and revolutions it has sustained; its naval power during successive wars; and the great influx of wealth that has accrued to the inhabitants from the successful enterprizes of their numerous privateers; together with the immense contraband trade which thy have constantly carried on to most parts of Europe, especially to England. The situation of this port is so peculiarly advantageous for annoying all the northern trade, that it is well known to have been an object of the utmost jealousy with the leading maritime powers for more than two hundred years. The population of this town, in 1785, was calculated to be 25,168.

The original MS. of this concise account is a very elegant performance, particularly with respect to its plans; three of which have been selected to illustrate this translation, as follow.

ADVERTISEMENT.

No. I. Plan of the siege of Dunkirk in 1658, when it was taken by the allied armies under the command of Marshal Turenne and Gen. Lockhart.

No. II. Plan of Dunkirk as it was fortified by Vauban, under Loûis XIV.

No. III. Plan of Dunkirk in 1785.

To these three plans it was thought expedient to add a fourth, not contained in the original work, describing the environs of Dunkirk between Gravelines and Nieuport; together with the nautical description of the road for navigating that part of the coast. This plan has been constructed from new materials, and is the only one extant. It also exhibits the encampment of the British army during the investment of that place, from the 24th August to the 6th September, 1793.

AN

HISTORICAL DESCRIPTION

OF

DUNKIRK.

DUNKIRK is a sea-port of French Flanders, situated in 51d. 7m. lat. 2d. 20m. long. of London east, and 02m. 23s. east long. of the meridian of Paris. Distant SW 8 leagues from Ostend; SE $\frac{1}{4}$ by E 15 leagues from the mouth of the Thames; WNW $\frac{1}{4}$ by N 45 leagues from the Texel; and SSW 203 leagues from Elsinoor, at the entrance of the Baltic. By its situation at the opening of the north sea, it becomes the key of it, and is much less remarkable for its antiquity than for the various revolutions it has undergone, and the events that have rendered it famous in the annals of the latter ages.

At the time that Julius Cæsar invaded, and subdued Belgic Gaul, the inhabitants of the coast where Dunkirk now stands, were known by the name of Diabinthi, and had for neighbours the Menapii and Morini. Under the first denomination were known the inhabitants of Furnes, Dixmude, and Ypres. Under the second, the people of St. Omer's, Calais, Wissant (supposed to be the Portus Iceius of the Romans), and Boulogne. The principal strong-hold of this tract of country was *Castellum Morinorum*, now Mount Cassel. The lands which sepa-

rated the Diabinthi from their aforesaid neighbours, being much below the level of the sea, were, according to tradition, and the testimony of historians, entirely overflowed. It is even a received opinion, that an arm of the sea ran up as far as St. Omer's. At least, it is probable, from the levels taken in various points, that the vast plain between Dixmude and Calais, through Bergen and Watten, was completely covered with water. This land, which in many places is below the level of high water mark, was drained by the industry of the natives, who have ever since preserved it from the invasion of the sea by means of natural and artificial barriers. The natural ones have been formed by the sea itself, and by the winds, which have accumulated a chain of hills of sand, called the *Downs*. The artificial ones are dikes and sluices, erected at the mouths of rivers, and canals for conveying the waters of the country to the sea.

Early in the fifth century, Pharamond led the French or Franks out of Franconia into Gaul, and drove the Romans out of Flanders. In 618, Clotarius II. appointed for the government of the country certain officers called Foresters, because all Flanders was then covered with woods. This form of administration subsisted till the year 863, when Baldwin, surnamed *Iron Arm*, carried off and seduced the daughter of Charles the Bald, King of France. The monarch forgave the offence, and bestowed all Flanders on the ravisher as a marriage portion, erecting it into a feudal earldom, under the protection and vassalage of the crown of France.

We have no authentic accounts of Dunkirk before 646,

when St. Eligius, or Eloy, was sent to preach the Gospel there. This apostle of Flanders built a church on the sea shore, and called it *Duyne Kerke*, which, in Flemish, means Church of the Downs; the town afterwards formed round the church assumed the same name. The advantage of a natural haven soon drew inhabitants to Dunkirk, and, in 960, Baldwin the third Earl of Flanders, well aware of its importance, surrounded its houses with a wall. Before the twelfth century this port had acquired so much population and strength, that it was able to equip and send out a powerful fleet against some pirates that ravaged the coast of the straits, and to put a complete end to their depredations.

Dunkirk was detached from the earldom of Flanders in 1192 by Baldwin, Earl of Hainault, and his wife Margaret of Flanders, to form a portion for their daughter Matilda, Queen of Portugal. Upon the demise of this princess in 1218, Dunkirk devolved upon Joan of Constantinople, Countess of Flanders, consort of Ferdinand of Portugal, who, with the consent of her husband, invested with this lordship Don Laurence of Portugal, their cousin-german. This prince enjoyed it a few years, and then sold it, in 1233, as a life estate, to Godfrey, bishop of Cambray. The condition was, that after the prelate's death, the fief should return to the counts of Flanders. Godfrey improved the town, deepened the harbour, and built two piers of fascines on each side of its channel.

Philip the Fair, King of France, after defeating and taking prisoner Grey of Dampierre, of the house of Bourbon Archam-

baud, and Earl of Flanders, seized upon Dunkirk, and all low Flanders; but in 1299 restored his conquests.

By a treaty signed in 1305, this town not only received a confirmation of all privileges and franchises granted in 1170 by Philip of Alsace, Earl of Flanders, but obtained more ample ones from a successor of Grey of Dampierre.

In 1322, Robert of Flanders surrendered his earldom to his son Louis; and, at the same time, gave Dunkirk to his second son Robert of Cassel, who strengthened it with a castle.

In 1325, the people of Bruges having rebelled against their sovereign, stormed Dunkirk; but abandoned it after pillaging it, and destroying the fortress and the walls.

Joland, only daughter and heiress of Robert of Cassel, married Henry the fourth count of Bar, and transferred to that house the lordship of Dunkirk. This is the origin of the arms of this town, which are party per fess, or and argent: on the first, a lion sable, for Flanders; on the second, a dolphin naiant proper, for Bar. Since that time a merman armed has been added as supporter.

In 1382 the Ghenters, then stigmatized by the odious appellation of rebels, having received a reinforcement of English troops, under the command of Spencer, bishop of Norwich, took Dunkirk; but were not able to prevent its returning soon after under the French dominion.

Robert, Count of Marle, great grandson of Joland, and Lord of Dunkirk, rebuilt its walls in 1400, in a more solid manner than they were before, with 28 round towers, a ditch, and three

gates, beyond all which was another foss. Part of this fortification is yet to be seen behind the garden of the Recollect Friars, where the canal of Furnes falls into the harbour.

The emperor Charles the Fifth, having had Dunkirk, and some other neighbouring towns, delivered up to him by France as part of the ransom of its king, taken prisoner at Pavia, came in 1525 to Dunkirk, and, in the town-house, swore solemnly to defend and maintain its privileges, franchises, liberties, statutes, customs, and usages. Other estates were given in lieu of this lordship to the family of Vendome, which, by virtue of a marriage with a daughter of Charles, Earl of Flanders, was the lawful proprietor. The emperor caused a fort to be erected to defend the harbour, but it was afterwards demolished to make room for other works.

In 1557, war breaking out between France on one part, and Spain and England on the other, the Duke of Guise was appointed generalissimo of the French army by Henry II. He besieged and took Calais, in January, 1558, after a siege of only eight days. From Calais he marched towards Luxemburg, but detached the Marshal de Termes with 13,000 foot, and 4,000 horse, to attack Dunkirk. The town was invested on the 2d of July, 1558, and taken by storm four days after. Scarce had the Marshal taken possession, when he was informed, that the Count of Egmont was assembling a strong force at St. Omer's, to attempt the retaking of Dunkirk. Upon this Termes gave up the town to be plundered, and marched off towards Calais with all speed; but, at the passage of the Aa, near Gravelines, was surprised by Egmont, beaten, and

taken prisoner, after a bloody conflict. What contributed greatly to the gain of the battle, was the arrival of ten English ships of war, which anchored near the shore, and cannonaded with great effect the right line of the French; 200 of them fell into the hands of the English, and the Spaniards obtained a complete victory.

The peace of Cateau Cambresis, concluded in 1559, gave the people of Dunkirk an opportunity of restoring their commerce; and they exerted themselves so successfully that Dunkirk soon became a place of great importance to the crown of Spain. Philip II. confirmed their privileges in 1570, and moreover gave them leave to refine salt.

This town having joined in the revolt of Flanders, and declared for the Duke of Alençon, brother to Charles the Ninth of France, was besieged and taken, in 1583, by the Duke of Parma. He treated the inhabitants with great lenity, granted a general amnesty, restored their property, and allowed them to enjoy all their immunities and privileges in as ample a manner as before the troubles. They proved themselves worthy of his mercy by their subsequent conduct. Never were more loyal subjects. For almost a century they carried on a desperate continual warfare against the Dutch, and, by the confession of De Witt himself, did more harm to Holland than all the other subjects of the Spanish empire. Nothing could surpass the intrepidity of the seamen of Dunkirk; its annals are full of the achievements of the Collaerts, Michael and John Jacobson, and various other men, the honour of their country.

In 1590 the Dutch, with a view of checking the depredations of the Dunkirkers, made a descent upon this coast, but reimbarked without doing any thing important.

As the fishery was a principal source of the riches of Dunkirk, which, from its privileges, was particularly calculated for success in that branch of trade, the farmers of the taxes endeavoured to saddle it with an impost, but failed in the attempt.

In 1620, the canal of La Moere was dug for the purpose of draining a very large extent of land. La Moere at first consisted of two lakes, one a league and a half in length, and one in breadth; the second only half a league long, and a quarter wide, containing together 10,000 acres. It appears, from the history of Flanders, by Van Meeteren, that this inundation was caused by a furious storm, which broke down the dikes at Vulpen, near Nieuport. The epocha is not ascertained; but as the historian mentions the canal of Vulpen being choaked by it, and Nieuport being built in consequence, we may infer this breach to have happened before 1200, at which time we are able to place the origin of Nieuport.

Towards the end of the 16th century, the Archduke Albert employed Bruno, an Italian engineer, to drain the two Moeres, the largest of which had six feet depth of water, the lesser about three, both of them four feet above low water mark, but thirteen feet six inches below the level of spring tides. Bruno began by drawing a canal, and a dike, called Ryngslodt, round the two waters, which he completed in 1618. This cut served to catch the waste waters of the surrounding country, and to carry them through Dunkirk, after being

raised to the proper height by means of twenty mills. This enterprize succeeded so well, that in 1626 the whole surface of these lakes was fit for cultivation. A very large village was built in it, called Moërkerke; but, unfortunately, another inundation came in 1646, and destroyed in an instant the labours of years.

Upon the Dutch war breaking out again, the Spaniards erected a fort at Mardyke, to protect the canal between it and Dunkirk. They added a wooden work in the sea, which communicated with the former by means of a bridge. These answered completely the object they were intended for, viz. that of covering the reach of sea, which then constituted the road before Dunkirk, of facilitating the going out and coming in of the Spanish ships of war and privateers, and of preventing the port from being blocked up by the Dutch fleets that were continually cruizing before it.

In 1627, thirty Dunkirk ships brought in a fleet of twenty Dutch sail, one of them richly laden.

In vain did Holland endeavour to blockade this port: during the summer months of 1630 above eighty prizes were brought in, which enriched the adventurers so much, that they were able to arm at one time thirty ships of war. A single merchant, called Vandewalli, fitted out twelve, which he gave to Philip III. on condition of being honoured with the cross of Saint Jago.

The Dutch landed some troops, in hopes of surprising Mardyke, but the Spanish cavalry put them to the rout; and it was with great difficulty that they reached their ships by swimming.

In 1634, the Dunkirkers jointly with the burghers of Bergen

dug a canal between their respective towns, which is still open, and has been of great use in deepening the harbour.

In 1635 the canal of Furnes was begun, and, in 1638 its sluice was opened.

About this time the overflow of inhabitants occasioned the enlargement of the town. In 1640, a second wall of circumvallation was raised of earth, with ten bastions and demilunes at each gate, and a deep wet ditch, at a considerable distance without the old inclosure.

In 1644, Don Pedro de Leon erected the fort of Leon to defend the harbour.

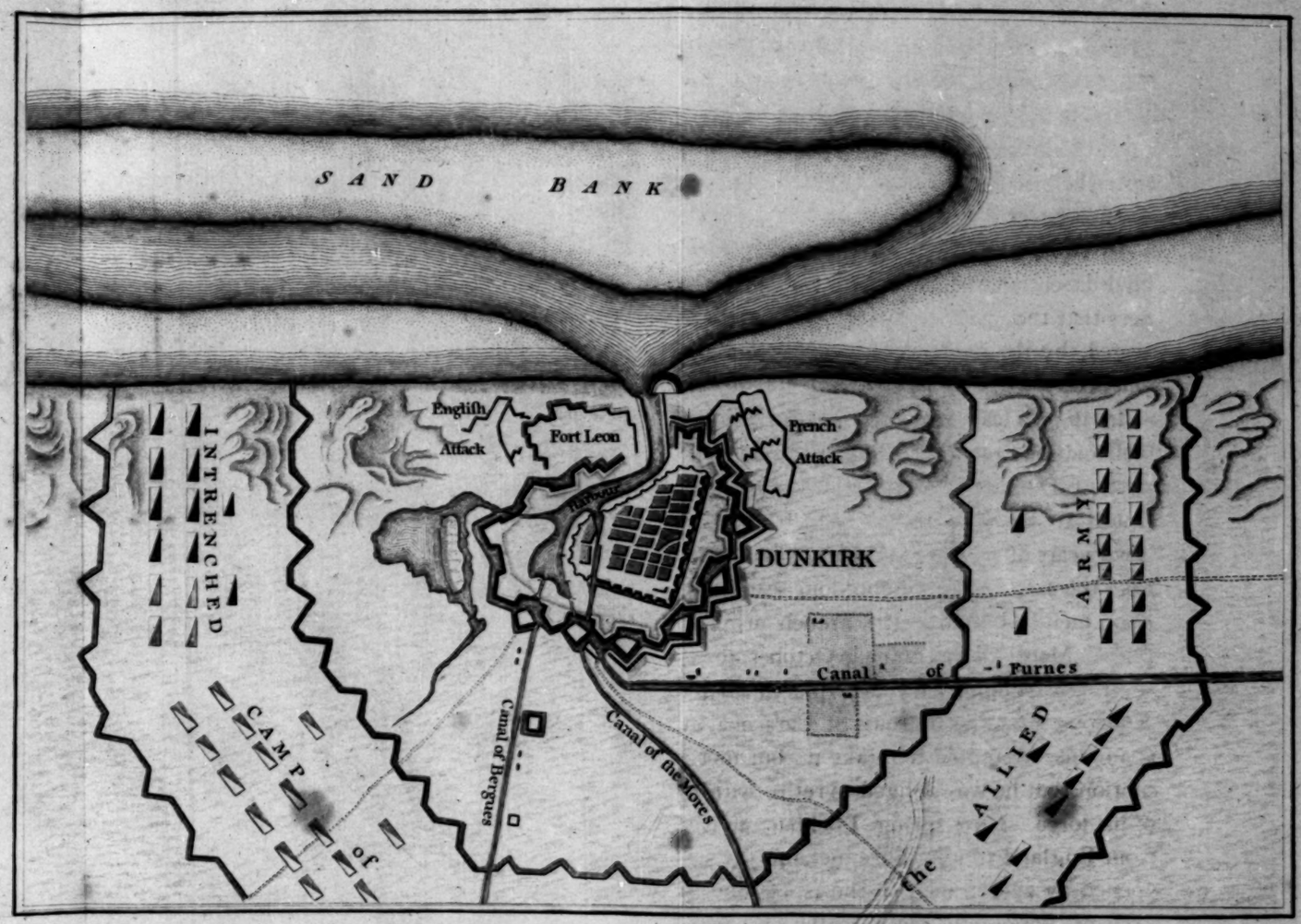
On the opening of the campaign of 1646, Gaston, Duke of Orleans, at the head of a French army, took Berg St. Vinox and Mardyke. The Prince of Condé, who succeeded him in the command, invested Dunkirk on the 20th of September. As soon as the lines of circumvallation were completed, two attacks were formed, one against the bastion next the sea, on the east side, and the other against Fort Leon. The French army consisted of 10,000 foot, and 5,000 horse; the garrison of 2,600 infantry, and 300 cavalry, under the command of the Marquis of Leyda, an officer of high repute in the science of defence.

Picolomini and Caracena, the Spanish generals, approached in order to raise the siege, but finding the lines of countervallation too strong to be attacked, they retreated to Nieuport, and sent out thirty bilanders full of troops to succour the place; but Van Tromp, with a Dutch fleet, blocked up the harbour so effectually that they were obliged to give up the attempt.

Dunkirk capitulated on the 11th of October. This siege occasioned the ruin of the great Moere, for Leyda opened all the sluices, and let the sea rush in with such impetuosity that both the lakes were again filled, and numbers of inhabitants overwhelmed by the flood. From that time the surface remained under water.

In 1652, while France was torn to pieces, and debilitated by civil dissentions, the Spaniards regained all the towns in Flanders that they had lost. Among the rest Dunkirk was besieged, by the Archduke Leopold, and taken after a gallant defence.

In 1655, a league being made between the protector Cromwell and the French, twelve English men of war blocked up the port of Dunkirk, but to little purpose, as the privateers continued to sail out and in, and to make many rich captures. Two years after, the two courts having determined to undertake the siege of this obnoxious seaport, Cromwell sent over 6000 men to reinforce the French army under Marshal Turenne. Mardyke was taken in October, 1657, and delivered up to the English commissary, who placed a sufficient garrison in it. Not long after the Marquis of Caracena, at the head of 6000 Spaniards, attempted to retake it; but met with so warm a reception that he was obliged to retire with the loss of one-sixth of his force. Next spring, Lockhart arrived with fresh troops from England to join Turenne, and the siege of Dunkirk was opened by 22,000 men on the 1st of June, 1658. The lines of circumvallation and countervallation began on the west at the sea, and continued to the strand on the east side, which being



The SIEGE *of* DUNKIRK *by* MARSHALL TURENNE; taken June 26th 1658.

The French Army employed in the Siege of Dunkirk consisted of 28000 Men, including 6000 English sent by Oliver Cromwell under the command of Genl Lockhart.

At half a League East of the Lines was fought the memorable battle of the Downs between the French & Spaniards on the 16th June 1658, ten days afterwards the Town capitulated.

English ▬ ▬ French.

Publish'd by W. Faden Geograph.r to His Majesty & to His R.H. the Prince of Wales Charing Cross March 20th 1794.

left dry at low tide, was defended by palisadoes. Cromwell took care also to prevent all succour from the sea by means of a powerful fleet. The Marquis of Leyda commanded in the town, and Don John of Austria and the Prince of Condé, then in rebellion, were encamped at Furnes. The trenches were opened on the 4th of June, by two separate attacks, one on the side of the gate of Nieuport, by the French; the other near fort Leon, by the English: the garrison made several bold, but unsuccessful sorties, and the besiegers pushed their works with such vigour that in five days they made a lodgement in the covert way. As this place was of the utmost importance to the Spaniards, they determined to relieve it, if possible, by attacking the enemy in their intrenchments. To this effect their army appeared in sight on the 13th of June, and although it was unprovided with artillery and tools for an encampment, pitched its tents within two cannon shot of the French lines. Turenne perceiving clearly what their intentions were, and being informed by deserters of their want of cannon, took all necessary precautions against the garrison, and marched out of his intrenchments before day-break to attack the Spaniards with a superior force. His infantry amounted to 9000 men, his cavalry to 6000; the Spaniards had only 6000 of each. After the French had cannonaded the enemy, the English began the attack with great intrepidity, and being joined by a French corps, routed the whole left wing; soon after the Marshal totally defeated, and drove out of the field, the rest of their army, notwithstanding all the valour and efforts of the great Condé.

Though deprived of all hopes of relief, the garrison held out, with great obstinacy, for ten days. Louis XIV. came from Mardyke to see it march out, and after taking possession, delivered up the town to the English ; so that by a singular combination of circumstances, Dunkirk belonged in the same day, at different times, to the three greatest powers of Europe.

The English being peaceable possessors of Dunkirk by the peace of the Pyrenees, set about repairing the fortifications without loss of time. They began to build a citadel on the site of fort Leon, a crown-work on the east side, and several other works were planned.

Louis XIV. whose ministers were too solicitous for the prosperity of French commerce to let any opportunity slip of increasing or securing it, ordered his ambassador, the Count de Estrades, to treat with Lord Clarendon for the purchase of Dunkirk. After some dirty bartering, Charles II. consented to yield it up, with all its appurtenances, ammunition, and artillery, for 5,000,000 livres Tournois. Thus, in 1662, did Dunkirk pass for ever under the dominion of the French monarchs.

The king was so charmed with this acquisition that he rode post thither in December. The garrison was extremely unwilling to evacuate the place, and had it not been for large sums of money distributed among the officers and soldiers, perhaps the French would not have obtained possession. It was time to buy off the troops, for the very next day arrived a messenger from the English Parliament to forbid the surrender.

No sooner did Louis get Dunkirk into his hands than he

ordered the citadel to be completed with the utmost diligence. Barracks, powder magazines, a parish church, a governor's house, and various other buildings for defence and convenience were built in a noble style. The old Spanish ramparts on the side of Nieuport were demolished, and three handsome streets, and the Dauphin square, erected upon the site, which added greatly to the size of the town. The whole circumference of the new works was faced with stone work, and was composed of ten bastions, half moons upon all the curtains, with noble ditches, a covert way, with an advanced fossé, and many other out-works. A camp of 30,000 men was formed to execute this plan of Vauban's; 10,000 worked at a time, and all was finished in six seasons, by which means Dunkirk was rendered very strong towards the land. The low town was added, and joined to the fortifications by an earthern rampart. The canal of Bourbourg was opened in 1670.

When Louis had fortified Dunkirk sufficiently against all attacks by land, he turned his attention to its defence against maritime enemies. The sand-bank called Schurken was cut straight through by a canal, lined on each side with admirable piers of timber, founded on piles filled with stones. These jetties were 800 toises long, and prevented the sand from getting into the canal, serving, at the same time, as communications between the town and the fort at each pier head.

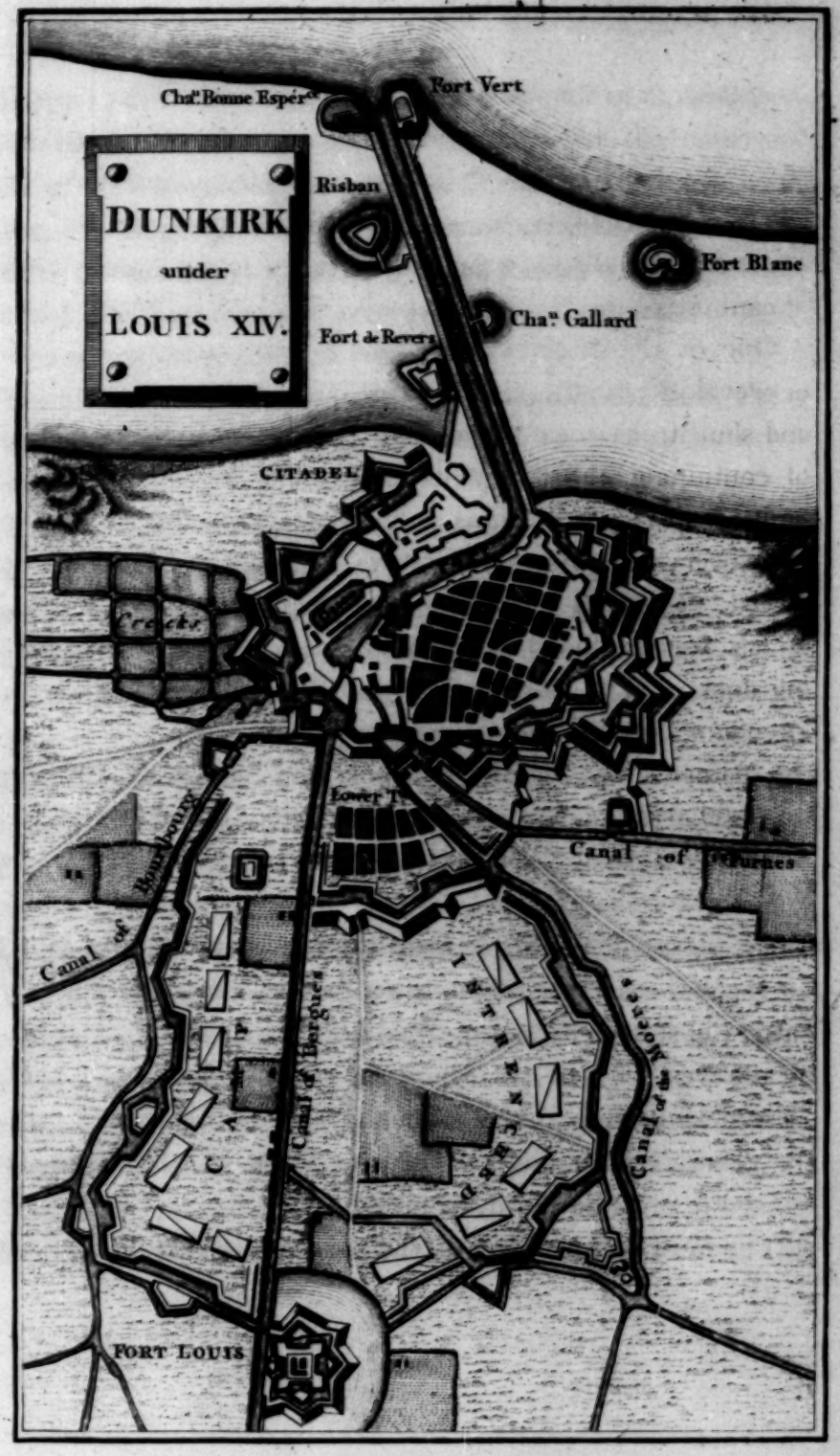
These two forts were of wood, one being called the Chateau de Bonne Esperance, or the Castle of Good Hope, and the other the Fort Vert, or Green Fort, each mounting 30 guns. To the east of the canal, about half way, was a wooden battery of

12 guns, called the Chateau Gaillard. To the west was raised the famous Risban, faced with stone. It was circular, and contained excellent casemates, barracks for a battalion of infantry, an arsenal, a chapel, and suitable store-houses. The expence of building it, 1,200,000 livres. It mounted 46 pieces of cannon.

One of the greatest ornaments of the place was the bason, or wet dock, for the king's ships. It was lined with masonry, and shut up by means of a sluice 42 feet wide. It was capable of containing thirty vessels always afloat. Round it were built a ropery, store-houses, sheds for masts, and shambles. Here every thing necessary for the equipment of ships was preserved. Close by this dock was a bason called the Back Port, which was confined by wooden keys, and divided into building docks. The marine park was adjacent, and contained the intendant's house, the apartments of the officers of the port, the seamen's register-office, ovens, and smiths' shops, so that by these arrangements the king was able to fit out at Dunkirk many fleets, that afterwards did great havock among his enemies in the north sea.

To prevent an enemy from approaching the citadel, and for the better defence of the town towards the sea, a triangular battery of sixteen cannons, called Le Fort de Revers, was raised on the west side of the channel; on one hand it commanded all attacks upon Dunkirk from the side of Nieuport; and on the other, crossed those from the coast of Gravelines, and opened upon the road in front.

The most considerable of the sluices was that of the canal



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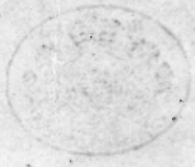


of Bergen ; it was 25 feet wide, with four pair of flood-gates, which either admitted the sea into the canal for the improvement of its navigation, or gave vent to the superfluous fresh water. A large turning gate was contrived, of the whole breadth of the canal, by means of which flushes were made that cleansed the harbour, and preserved a depth of water proper for the reception of ships of war.

The sluice of La Moere had its discharge in the Back Port, as well as the last mentioned, and served to carry off the inland waters.

The canal of Furnes, otherwise called the sluice of Kercloot, had its issue in the harbour. These and other sluices in the town ditch, served also to lay the country under water in case of a siege, on all sides except that of the Downs, which being the only point susceptible of attack, was for that reason fortified with the greatest care.

Dunkirk in that state was esteemed one of the strongest places in Europe ; 25 years had been employed in fortifying and embellishing it : its harbour was deep enough for ships of 64 guns. Its importance will be seen by the following circumstances : in 1690, a fleet under John Bart sailed from hence, and destroyed the Dutch fisheries. The privateers of this port committed such havock, that both England and Holland resounded with the clamours of the discontented, which determined them to bombard Dunkirk. Admiral Shovel arrived before it in 1694 with that intention ; but in spite of all his efforts, he could not effectuate his purpose.

In August 1695, another English and Dutch fleet of 114

sail, under Lord Berkeley, appeared off Mardyke, and sent into the road several fire-ships and bomb-ketches, who kept up a brisk fire for a whole day, but scarce did any damage. The fire-ships burnt out on the sand banks, and the rest retired with the fleet. The French had placed a floating battery between the piers, which effectually stopped the bomb-ketches, and a battery on the strand prevented any landing of troops.

In 1696, a fleet was prepared here to assist James II.; but being overawed by an English fleet, never left the port.

Louis XIV. who well knew the importance of Dunkirk both in war and peace, never had ceased loading it with favours since he acquired possession. As early as 1662, he had declared it a free port, invited strangers to settle, let their rank and religion be what they would, and allowed them to participate of all the privileges of citizens. But all goods entered from the inland country remained subject to the customs. In 1700, the king established a chamber of commerce at Dunkirk, composed of a president, five counsellors, and a pensioner. The population then amounted to 14,000 souls.

When the death of Charles the Second of Spain plunged all Europe once again into the horrors of war: Louis foreseeing that jealousy would soon excite his antagonists to direct their force against Dunkirk, ordered its means of defence to be increased; consequently a battery was raised upon the east strand, called the Fort Blanc, destined to prevent a bombardment from that quarter. The parapets were ball proof. Towards the sea it was pierced with twelve embrazures, and its gorge, which battered *de revers* the attack from the side of

Nieuport, had six embrazures, of which three were masked. It had a cistern, powder magazine, magazine for provisions, and a noble guardhouse. It cost 121,333. 15. 6 livres.

The loss of the battle of Ramillies in 1706, leaving all Flanders open to the allied army, an intrenched camp was formed between Fort Louis and the town, after a design of Marshal Vauban. Its circuit near two leagues; the line passed along the canals of Bourbourg and La Moere, and joined the works of Fort Louis by way of mutual defence. Its parapets were twelve feet thick, and its fossé eight toises broad.

In 1703, M. de St. Pol sailed from Dunkirk with four men of war, and burnt a Dutch fleet near Shetland.

In 1707, The Chevalier de Forbin, went out with four ships, and being joined by Du Guaytrouin, took a large and important English fleet destined for Portugal, together with its convoy.

In 1708, Forbin went out with seven sail of the line, and thirteen frigates, in order to convoy the Chevalier St. George to Scotland; but was defeated by Byng, and obliged to return to port in great disorder.

It would be tedious to enumerate all the services rendered by the Dunkirkers during the war of the succession; let it suffice to say, that they frequently fitted out fifty-five privateers from ten to seventy guns, all commanded by natives of the town, of tried courage and capacity, who, in the course of the war, took from the English and Dutch, 1614 vessels, that produced on sale upwards of 30,000,000 livres, and injured the commerce of the enemy to an infinitely larger amount.

In 1712, Louis found himself obliged to conclude the peace of Utrecht: by an article of the preliminaries, Dunkirk was to be restored to the English. Consequently, General Hill took possession of it with 6700 British troops. Afterwards, by the ninth article of the peace, the King of France stipulated to raze its fortifications, to fill up its harbour, and destroy the sluices that cleansed it, at his expence, and in the term of five months from the signing of the peace. Also that none of the works should ever be restored. English commissaries were sent over to superintend the operations of eight battalions of French infantry, and a company of miners, ordered to demolish the works. The remonstrances of the citizens were fruitless, and all the fortifications, batteries, and out-works were completely destroyed, between the 13th of October, 1713, and the 6th of August, 1714. Dunkirk offered a mere heap of ruins, without any trace of its former splendour. But nothing appeared so cruel to the inhabitants as the throwing a dike across the harbour, which entirely cut off all communication with the sea. This pile was raised in a short time by 2000 men, who worked during the ebb.

The discharge of the inland waters being thus entirely stopped, there was great probability that the whole country would become a lake. The court of France, to prevent this misfortune, asked permission of that of England, to leave the sluice of Bergen for the purpose of a general drain, but found it inflexible on that head, and the sluice was demolished. Other means were suggested, but none agreed to. At last Le Blanc and Moyenneville proposed to Louis XIV. the project of a

drainage by Mardyke. The king having approved of it, a canal was begun on the 6th of August, 1714, from Dunkirk to Mardyke, and on the 24th of the same month, the foundations of the sluice were laid. It was to have two passages, one forty-four feet wide, to receive very large ships into the canal, the other only twenty six, for lesser vessels. The bottom of the canal was cut three feet ten inches lower than low water mark, in order to gain as much depth as possible for the shipping. By this expedient, a certain convenient discharge for the waters was found, and some remedy to the misfortunes of Dunkirk.

On the accession of George I. in 1714, the English troops were recalled. In vain did Colonel Armstrong remonstrate against the works at Mardyke, as absolutely contrary to the spirit of the treaty. It only served to hasten the operations, and early in January, 1715, the first flush was made of the long confined waters, which would have stagnated and infected the air, if the two Moeres had not been at hand to receive their surplus. The canal of Mardyke had acquired so much depth by the frequent flushes, that in April it was capable of receiving a frigate of thirty-four guns. From this road, another frigate sailed for Scotland, with the son of James the Second on board, but was soon obliged to return with him to France.

In order to revive commerce, a decree of council granted to Mardyke all the privileges and exemptions enjoyed by Dunkirk. The maritime powers, well remembering all the mischief Dunkirk had done them, and afraid lest it should rise again to a place of consequence, made a precise stipulation in the triple alliance of 1717, by which the King of France engaged

to destroy the larger passage of the sluice of Mardyke, in order that there might never be either port, fortification, or outwork of any kind, at or within two leagues of either Dunkirk or Mardyke; also to reduce the width of the lesser sluice to sixteen feet. This was all executed before December.

The stagnated waters having rendered the air very unwholesome, the inhabitants destroyed the dyke across the canal of Furnes, near the Porte Royale; and instead of it fixed a sluice, called the Guindal of Kesteloot, which brought those waters into the canal of Mardyke.

Dunkirk remained in this deplorable situation to the 31st of of January, 1720, when a violent storm tore down the dike which the English had caused to be made across the harbour; and this lucky accident was the cause of the re-establishment and revival of this town.

The English ministry does not appear to have made any requisition for the re-edification of this dike.

The sluice of Kesteloot, as repaired in 1718, was of use only in admitting the waters into the canal of Furnes, for the bettering of the inland navigation, and turning of a corn-mill placed between it and that of La Moere. This mill was removed in 1725, in order to give the sluice more power to open and deepen the old canal of the harbour, by means of water let in at high tide, and flushed out with great violence at low water. This succeeded so well, that the port was soon capable of receiving ships. In the same year, dikes and jetties of fascines were raised on each side of the old canal.

To enable the town to recover from its disasters, the king

gave the Dunkirkers leave to trade to the West Indies, and to form a staple for the national manufactures destined for the consumption of the inland provinces, and transmitted hither by sea. This caused a double speculation, and a two-fold stock to be laid in, which brought foreign merchants in great numbers to this market, where they were sure of great choice of goods.

In 1734, the king established here a general hospital, supported by duties upon provisions, and some rents. It is administered in the best manner; no patients are refused, and all are treated with care and tenderness; and foundlings are received and educated.

The harbour being thus improved, the commerce of the West Indies was opened with success. But the Court of London did not behold all these innovations with an eye of unconcern. In 1732, Lord Waldegrave had presented a memorial, stating the encroachments and infractions of the treaty of Utrecht; and the English commissaries proved that there was now thirteen feet water in common tides; and that the jetties had made way for two stone piers, supported by gabions, about three feet above the level of the strand, and seven hundred toises in length. Nothing could be more true, and besides, the quays had undergone considerable repairs.

However, things remained as they were till 1741, when war was declared, and the French Court turned its thoughts towards the rehabitation of this place. In order to secure it from all attacks by sea, there were raised on the east side of the harbour four batteries, with each a powder magazine and guard-

house, and each mounting twelve cannon. All of them communicated by means of a bridge that ran out from the strand gate. On the ruins of the Risban, another battery was constructed.

In the ensuing year, an intrenched camp was formed (commanded by Marshal Noailles), reaching from the east strand to the canal of Furnes, and thence passing between those of La Moere and Bergen as far as Fort Louis, which was rebuilt of sods. This camp contained twenty battalions under the orders of Marshal Noailles. The English Court sent over, as auxiliaries to the Queen of Hungary, a body of 16,000 men, under the command of Lord Stair, who, with the assistance of 20,000 Hanoverians and Hessians, formed the project of attacking this camp; but the scheme proved abortive. It is said that a favourite dog of Stair's gnawed to pieces the only plan of the camp which he had been able to procure.

These intrenchments having been found too wide and defective for safety were razed to the ground, and the town was encircled with an earthen mound, of which part remains to this day. It was strengthened by a foss, partly dry, and partly full of water; its parapets were fifteen feet wide. From the gate of Nieuport to the low town there was a covert way, with traverses and place d'armes.

In 1744, great preparations were made in all the ports of France for an invasion of England, and the Road of Dunkirk was appointed to be the general rendezvous, where a powerful army was to be embarked, under the orders of Maurice Count of Saxony (since better known by the name of Marshal Saxe): he was to carry the grandson of James the Second, and land

with him on the Isle of Thanet; for which plan the present moment was most favourable, as the whole British force by sea and land was dispersed, and consequently enfeebled. But all these measures were defeated by tempests, and misconduct in the admiral that was to escort the fleet of transports. Prince Charles Edward was obliged to sail almost unaccompanied for the coast of Scotland. The success of his expedition is well known. The privateers fitted out at Dunkirk during the years 1745 and 1746 had amazing success.

By the peace of Aix la Chapelle in 1748, it was agreed that Dunkirk should remain nearly *in statu quo*.

In the year 1753, a cut or cunette was begun, to encircle the town, in order to give a discharge to the Moere, and to carry off the stagnated waters of the old ditches, which rendered the air very unwholesome. This cunette was one hundred and twenty feet wide at top, ten at bottom ; and about twenty-five in depth. It terminated at the canal of the Moere in two aqueducts of stone work, which passed under the canal of Furnes, and emptied its waters into the harbour.

The Court of England being persuaded that this cut was really intended for very different purposes, sent officers to examine it; and upon their report that its principal destination was to deepen the harbour, remonstrated to the Court of Versailles, which paid little attention to the memorial ; the works were continued and completed. The Count d'Héronville, who had obtained a grant of the two Moeres, was the author of the project, and government bore the charges.

In 1754, the Exchange of Dunkirk was built, with proper apartments for the commercial tribunals, public schools, &c.

At this period, this town was daily rising in commercial importance. A sketch of its trade will not be unsatisfactory. It fitted out annually for the West India trade from sixteen to twenty vessels of 350 tons each. The exportation of the produce of the inland provinces to the islands, amounted to several millions of livres.

The returns were partly passed into France, and partly exported to foreign countries.

Three ships were usually sent out to Louisiana, others to Canada, and several to the Banks of Newfoundland.

Dunkirk was also beginning to take a share in the slave trade. Through this port all the products of French Flanders and the contiguous provinces were dispatched for Spain and Portugal; and the returns were made in wool, oils, &c. From the coast of Poitou, every year 26,000 measures of bay salt were imported into Dunkirk by the owners of the vessels, who sold it at four livres a measure; and laid out the amount in merchandize, which they carried back to their own country. About 20,000 of these measures passed into the country, the rest were refined at Dunkirk.

About 2500 measures were brought from Spain to salt the cod caught on the coast.

This town, on account of its franchises, and its happy situation between the northern and southern kingdoms of Europe, and its vicinity to the Austrian and French Netherlands, carried on a prodigious trade in brandies and wines, which it drew from the southern and western parts of France. In 1753, it was found to have re-exported, over and above its own consumption, 1,459,664 pots of brandy, valued then at 20 sols a pot; of

which the English smugglers took off 208,511. 630,184 were entered fairly at London.

The British smugglers took also 22,337 pots of rum, 11,817 of geneva, and 500 of arrack.

It sold 8400 barrels of French wines; of which 500 were bought by the English smugglers; 150 pipes of canary, &c. for home consumption, and 200 pipes of the same sorts taken by the smugglers; forming altogether 2275 tons, worth about 610,000 livres.

About 300 smuggling vessels resorted annually to Dunkirk, where the franchise afforded them the best opportunity of cheap and various assortments, and laid out for brandies about 240,000 livres, and for tobacco, teas, coffee, cambric, wines, &c., 2,000,000 livres.

These same boats, for a stated price, took charge back, on account of the merchants, of vast quantities of French goods, which they imported clandestinely into England. This traffic benefited France 2,000,000 livres. England bought indigo to the annual amount of 1,000,000 livres, and 2900 pipes of wine, for which the duties were paid in London, 630,000; so that the annual exportation from Dunkirk to England was 5,870,000 livres. The commodities sent back by Great Britain did not exceed the half of this sum.

Dunkirk drew its tobacco in leaves from England, and worked it up for the inland countries. This manufacture was in high repute, and employed a great number of persons of all ages, and promoted ease and comfort among the lower class of inhabitants.

Seven or eight vessels carried on a brisk trade with Ostend. About twenty Dutch ships managed the intercourse between Holland and Dunkirk; and the business with Hamburgh was transacted by four Hamburghers and as many Dunkirkers. The Swedes and Danes traded in their own bottoms.

The cod and herring fishery, which has since increased wonderfully, was even then an object of importance. It had formerly, while Dunkirk formed part of the Spanish monarchy, employed a large number of vessels; but having to contend with the Dutch, who by the treaty of Utrecht were allowed to come to market upon the same footing with the natives, this branch fell to little or nothing. This treaty being annulled, in the years 1752 and 1753 fifty-two ships were fitted out for the herring fishery, and thirty-seven for the cod fishery; and they caught in those two years, 30,175 tons of herrings, and 5695 tons of cod, which gave the value of 1,013,149. The fishery of turbots and other fish, produced in those two years 400,000 livres. The population of Dunkirk was affected by this extention of commerce, and increased in proportion to the advantages men found in settling here. The freedom of the port was a strong inducement. About this time the king caused to be sold the site of the old fortifications near the Porte Royale, and the low town; and some very fine streets were erected upon it, which were a great ornament to the town.

War having once more broken out between France and England, in the year 1755, it became expedient to secure Dunkirk from insult. For this purpose two batteries were con-

structed on the east side of the channel, and one on the ruins of the old Risbank. Each of them had twelve cannon and four mortars, with guard-house and store-houses.

In 1756, Marshal Bellisle announced to the inhabitants the king's determination to restore the port to its ancient splendour, and to put it into a complete state of defence. Consequently the work was begun with the greatest alacrity and zeal. The sluice of Bergen was restored in 1757, with four pair of flood-gates, a turning bridge as broad as the canal, which was intended to let out the waters with such suddenness and impetuosity, as to plough up the bottom of the channel to the sea. The bason or dock was repaired next year. Its sluice was enlarged to forty-four feet; it was lined with hewn-stone; and by means of two side conduits, water was let in at will to float the ships. The operation was performed by means of two water-gates, with brass screws. A noble turnstile bridge afforded free egress and ingress. The quay was rebuilt with stone and timber from the mouth of the canal of Furnes, to that of the cunette. Great pains were taken to deepen and clean the channel as much as possible, and all the jetties were strengthened. The restoration of the sluice of Bergen became indispensable, as no water could get out at Mardyke, where the channel was choaked with sand and mud.

Dunkirk was also rendered stronger on the land side by raising the parapet, adding a counter-guard to the front of Nieuport, and a good covert way, which was palisadoed, as well as the body of the town. A demilune was placed between the canals: but these works were not finished till 1760.

During the summer of 1759, many flat-bottom boats were built at Dunkirk, as well as elsewhere, to co-operate in the intended invasion of England and Ireland; at the same time were fitted out two vessels, flush fore and aft, carrying 36 heavy guns, and four mortars, and drawing only eight or nine feet water. The whole project was disconcerted and ruined by the defeat of the French fleet under Conflans. About the same time, Dunkirk sent out an expedition under Thurot, who lost his life and fleet in an engagement with Elliot.

During this war, so unfortunate for France, Dunkirk distinguished itself by its privateering. A considerable number of private ships of war from six to twenty-four guns were equipped here; and they brought in 691 ships, the sale of which, with their cargoes, produced 15 millions of livres. But before the end of the war, all the privateers fell into the hands of the enemy.

In 1761 and 1762, the canal of Bergen was hollowed to the depth of the wood-work of its sluice, the bridge over it was widened, and a drawbridge was fixed upon it, to let boats up to Bergen, where a small bason had been prepared for them. This scheme failed, and only one barge ever got up so far.

In the preliminaries of the peace of 1762, it was stipulated that Dunkirk should be reduced to the state agreed upon by the peace of Aix la Chapelle, except that the cunette should remain, if the British commissaries certified it to be of use only for the purifying of the air. Their report being unfavourable, one of the articles of the peace of Fontainbleau ordered its demolition, together with all the sea batteries; and some other

method was to be found for preserving the purity of the air by the discharge of the waters. The disputes relative to these objects were endless, while the English wishing to ruin the place, insisted upon the nicest spirit of the treaty being obeyed; and the French, on the other hand, anxious to preserve a possibility of future restoration, endeavoured with equal acuteness to evade and misinterpret. The works were destroyed sufficiently, but the canals were suffered to remain, as indispensably necessary for the health of the inhabtants. Nothing proves this necessity more forcibly, than the example of the two Moeres, which from 1756 were drained by the cunette. The larger one had then seven feet of water, and the lesser three. In 1763, the former had only three, the latter was quite dry. After the destruction of the cunette, the waters flowed off by the canal of Bergen, and both lakes were dried, and rendered fit for cultivation. This drainage was helped by one fire engine, and ten mills. Since that time, the Moeres have occasionally suffered by inundations in wet years, a mischief not to be prevented in so low and flat a country. In 1763, the bason and its sluice were completely demolished, and all the articles of the treaty duly executed, except the destruction of the sluice of Bergen, which the French were determined to preserve for the discharge of the waters. Long and various were the discussions occasioned by the adverse assertions of the French and English commissioners, which ended in there being made such a cut across the channel, as to open a free passage for the sands. By this influx of dirt, the depth of water was soon reduced from eighteen to fourten feet at high water.

In 1768, pains were taken to restore the canal of Furnes to its ancient depth, which had been much lessened by time and neglect. This was so necessary, that the English made no opposition to it, nor did they object to the repairing of the sluice of Kesteloot.

From that time nothing material occurred; Dunkirk absorbed in commerce, which increased to a surprising extent, especially in the intercourse with the West Indies, the fisheries, and contraband trade, enjoyed the blessings of peace without interruption, till the period of the American revolution, and the war between France and England.

But the quay had been repaired in the year 1772, and American vessels had been admitted into the port by order of the French Court, which had long secretly abetted their cause. This indulgence irritated the English; but little notice was taken of their complaints. In 1778, Fraser the British commissary received orders to depart.

Letters of marque having been given out, the Dunkirkers, who had always distinguished themselves by their zeal and courage in all former wars, were not dilatory in fitting out cruizers, and in attacking an enemy that had been so pertinaciously active during the peace, in destroying their fortifications and harbour. A cloud of privateers of all sizes sailed successively from this port, and met with great success. The town had been previously secured against the enemy on the sea side, by a battery of twelve cannon and four mortars, erected on the ruins of the Risbank, another to the east of the channel, and a third on the strand, and a fourth commanding the road. From the beginning of July, 1778, to the end of De-

cember, 1782, the Dunkirk privateers took 1180 English ships, which sold for 18 millions of livres.

The following is a statement of the number of privateers armed at Dunkirk from July, 1778, to January, 1782. With their number and value of their prizes.

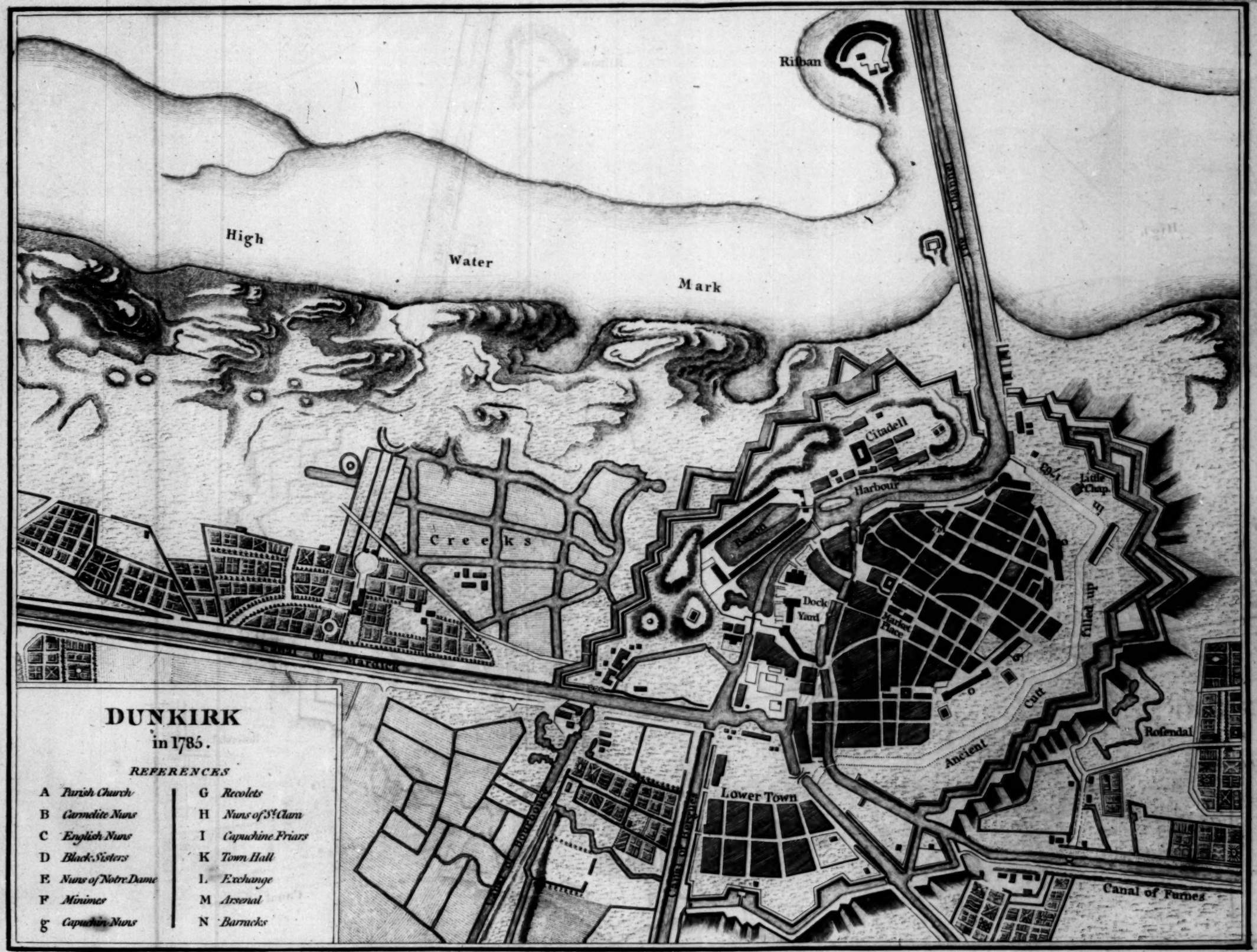
Year.	Month.	Number of Privateers.	Ships taken.	Ships ransomed.	Amount of ransom—guineas.
1778	September	13	8	12	6840
	October	6	8	15	6975
	November	6	1	17	23,850
	December	6	10	0	0
1779	January	8	4	1	1500
	February	7	7	7	2490
	March	11	6	4	1480
	April	3	6	2	1025
	May	10	0	2	200
	June	10	5	17	9880
	July	11	9	0	0
	August	11	15	13	4705
	September	5	15	29	6662
	October	8	5	25	9410
	November	6	8	1	420
	December	6	1	4	1620
1780	January	5	8	0	0
	February	5	8	7	3260
	March	7	13	11	10,357
	April	10	3	7	3020

Year.	Month.	Number of Privateers.	Ships taken.	Ships ransomed.	Amount of ransom—guineas.
1780	May	7	14	17	8570
	June	11	4	13	3570
	July	10	2	59	25,066
	August	17	21	54	20,132
	September	9	14	5	4940
	October	8	4	5	4780
	November	12	19	30	21,220
	December	10	18	7	6370
1781	January	14	13	12	7350
	February	7	9	14	5400
	March	8	11	0	0
	April	15	12	7	4280
	May	12	17	25	6840
	June	11	10	20	4140
	July	12	14	32	11,740
	August	11	4	48	29,287
	September	14	8	61	21,640
	October	14	6	23	9165
	November	9	8	0	0
	December	13	9	10	2930
1782	January	13	9	13	9750
	February	0	0	0	0
	March	10	15	2	2000
	April	11	7	7	2630
	May	15	8	13	2310
	June	18	10	26	7556

Year.	Month.	Number of Privateers.	Ships taken.	Ships ransomed.	Amount of ransom—guineas.
1782	July	20	40	3	460
	August	5	4	0	0
	September	9	11	0	0
	October	11	12	0	0
	November	11	16	0	0
	December	11	18	0	0
			507	680	315,820

At length the treaty of peace, concluded in 1783, left Dunkirk at full liberty in respect to its port, trade, and fortifications. The French ministry, aware of its importance, have since appropriated funds for putting every thing in thorough repair and good condition; the king has also given up a space of ground, upon which new streets are to be built according to a regular plan, which will render the town more elegant, airy, and commodious, and be a lasting monument of the munificence and parental attention of its sovereign.

THE END



London *Publiſhed as the Act directs by* W. Faden *Geographer to the* King *and H.R.H. the* Prince of Wales *Jan:y 1st 1794.*

APPENDIX.

EXTRACT FROM THE MEMOIRS OF ROGER DE RABUTIN, COUNT BUSSY.

It is necessary, for the better understanding of the plans of this campaign of 1658, to return to the negotiations which the Spanish court had opened two years before with Cromwell. They had proposed a treaty to him, by which, among other articles, they stipulated to join him in any attack upon Calais, and to deliver it up (when taken) to the English; in the mean while Dunkirk was to be placed in his hands as a pledge. Some difficulties having arisen that delayed the ratification of this treaty, Cardinal Mazarin very dexterously stepped in between, and made an alliance with Cromwell on the same plan; he was to assist the French in taking Dunkirk, and was to have it when taken.

This enterprize was replete with difficulties. To attack Dunkirk without being master of Bergues, Furnes, and Nieuport, was to be besieged while besieging; for these fortresses formed a line of circumvallation round Dunkirk; and were we to attack them one by one, what was it but to give the alarm to Dunkirk, and render it impregnable, or at least more difficult to conquer. If we attacked it in the latter part of May, we could have no forage ready by sea; to wait longer, was to allow the enemy time to form camps near their canals, and fight us to great advantage. Nevertheless the Cardinal, after taking every means human prudence could suggest to overcome these difficulties, threw himself upon his good fortune, and ordered Marshal Turenne to invest Dunkirk. This general marched from Amiens on the 14th of May towards

Old Hesdin and Auchy les Moines, from which post he was at liberty to push on through Merville to Dunkirk: at the same time he gave alarm to various divisions of the Spanish army, who, bewildered in guesses at his real intentions, persuaded themselves that the king (justly irritated against two rebellious officers, who by a piece of strange perfidy had seized upon Hesdin, on the death of Bellebrune, the governor) was determined to drive them out by main force, or at least to back with an army the negotiation that his ministers were carrying on with the traitors. These rebels were, La Riviere, king's lieutenant, and Fargues, town major; the first a brave gentleman, but of little understanding; the second, a man of low birth, but great parts and resolution.

Nor was it without reason that the Spaniards attributed our march to this cause. The crime appeared so black in their eyes, and of such dangerous consequence, that they were convinced the king would not leave it unpunished: nor were they undeceived even when our army was known to have advanced beyond Hesdin.

Marshal Turenne having reached the neighbourhood of Bettrune, ordered the Marquis of Crequy, who commanded there, to send out detachments of his garrison beyond the Lys to reconnoitre. One of them having brought intelligence that there was a strong body of the enemy at Cassel, he supposed them to be sent there to watch his motion, in case he should invest Hesdin. On this presumption, Crequy was detached to cut off the corps at Cassel, while the marshal supported him with some regiments, leaving the rest of the army to follow. At Cassel he surprised the enemy, and then waited till his equipages and artillery, which had been delayed by the heavy rains and bad roads, could join the army. In the afternoon of the 22d, the second line marched straight on to Bergen St. Vinox, and on the 23d he followed with a strong reinforcement; and here having a full view of the country as far as Dunkirk, he found it all so overflowed by the opening of the sluices, that it seemed impossible to

besiege either of those places, as the waters prevented all communication between the army and Mardyke, which was absolutely necessary.

However, difficulties could not check Turenne, who attacked and took a redoubt, called Bentismuler, from which he discovered a road to Mardyke, which was in truth but a very bad one, and much broken up.

On the 24th of May, he ordered every trooper to take a fascine for the repair of the road, and being escorted by some infantry, he pushed on by the side of the canal at Berg, and seized upon a large fort which the enemy had not had time to complete, and without which, as he had not possession of Berg, it was impracticable to besiege Dunkirk.

The 25th, he encamped round Dunkirk, and fixed his head quarters on the Downs, on the side towards Nieuport.

An English fleet of 18 or 20 sail commanded the road.

The 26th.—Bridges of communication over the canals were begun, and the lines traced.

A staccado was run across the strand below high water mark, on the Nieuport quarter.

All the provisions, forage, and ammunition, were conveyed in English bottoms from Calais, and as soon as the camp was amply provided, the trenches were opened in the night of the 4th of June.

The 7th, at four in the evening, the garrison made a sortie of 600 horse, and 1,000 foot, near the strand.

The 12th.—Marshal D'Hoquincourt, whose evil stars had made a rebel of him, came out to reconnoitre our lines, and push back our advanced posts, at the head of 150 officers, or volunteers. Humiéres, who commanded that day, and the Count of Soissons, whose regiment was on duty, were very near being taken; for they delayed too long in withdrawing the guard; and once rallied beyond the little foss, instead of leaving it between them and the enemy. These things almost always happen to young gallant officers; when they ought to retire before an

enemy, they do not know how to distinguish between retreat and flight; or at least are ignorant of their duty, and so have nothing to depend upon but their bravery.

Dubourg, page to Hermiéres, was taken, though behind his master: Molondin, an intelligent officer who commanded the Swiss guards, encamped along the line behind this post, placed seventy Swiss marksmen behind a sand hill that flanked the road, and made a sudden discharge upon the enemy. Marshal D'Hocquincourt received a shot in his belly, of which he died within the hour, in a small chapel where his soldiers laid him.

The same day, Marshal Turenne perceiving that there were two eminences in the Downs, very near the head quarters, from which the enemy might annoy us greatly if they took post there, determined to fortify them, and for that purpose, made the infantry destined to defend it work with extreme vigour to put it in a proper state of defence.

On the 13th, the Spanish army came and sat down along the Downs, about three quarters of a league from us. That afternoon the Marshal, whom I accompanied, mounted his horse and rode along the Furnes road, where we took with us the regiment of Villette, and advanced as far as we could. Turenne, as soon as he saw that the enemy had thrown a bridge over the canal of Furnes, was convinced that they meant to attack our lines very soon, and therefore returned hastily to the camp, with the resolution of giving battle the next day.

Fourteen companies of the French guards were ordered to defend the trenches, backed by six squadrons of horse, all under the command of Lieutenant General Pradel.

Two regiments of foot, and four squadrons of horse, under Lieutenant General Marins, were to protect the camp, and then the Marshal drew up his army in this manner:—

He placed on the first line of the right wing thirteen squadrons, and

thirteen also on the first line of the left wing: between these two wings were eleven battalions of infantry. The English insisted upon having the left-hand post, as being that of honour; and the Marshal persuaded the officers of the regiment of Picardy, whose right it was, to give up the point, as he could not risk the displeasure of so considerable a body as the English regiments.

On the second line of the right wing he placed ten squadrons; the second line of the left wing was composed of nine squadrons, and between these wings were seven battalions, of which three were English. The gendarmes in the squadrons were posted between the lines of infantry. The reserve consisted of four squadrons. The whole force drawn out for battle amounted to 6,000 horse, and 9,000 foot. On the day of a battle the old rule of war was, that the eldest officer chose his post. But now five generals, who had all been promoted the same day, and by a foolish custom were to have cast lots for their command, were placed at the Marshal's discretion, who never employed officers but when he thought the nature of their talents might render them useful: and certainly nothing can be more reasonable and just, than that a general, responsible for the event of the day, should have the choosing of the persons on whose talents and conduct it must in great measure depend, rather than trust his honour in the hands of men raised by mere seniority or court intrigue.

The Marshal gave Crequy and Humiéres the command of the first line of the right wing; Castelnau and Varennes that of the left wing; Gudagne led the first line of infantry, and Bellefons the second. Equancourt was at the head of the second line of the right; Schomberg of the second of the left; the gendarmes were under La Sallee; the reserve under Richelieu.

These orders being given, the Marshal directed me to bring all the cavalry from the lines beyond the canals to the head quarters, and the

infantry was collected in the same manner. He then sent Fisica to Lockhart, the English general, to tell him to prepare for battle the next day, and to explain his reasons for it. Lockhart answered, that he put his trust in Turenne, and would inquire into his reasons after the battle was over.

As the Marshal was going to lie down to rest, Talon, the commissary, gave him a letter he had just received from the Cardinal, in which the minister declares, that no doubt Turenne knew more of the matter than he did; but if he durst venture an opinion on the present occasion, it would be for giving battle. The Marshal was extremely pleased to find his own determination supported by that of the Cardinal.

The Marshal having given all necessary orders, wrapped himself up in his cloak, and lay down on the sand close by me; about an hour after he was waked by an officer, who brought that page of Humiéres that had been taken in the sortie of the preceding day, and who had found means to make his escape. This little boy, who had a good clear understanding, told the general, that the enemies being without suspicion of him, had let him wander about their camp; where he had seen that they had as yet no artillery, nor their whole complement of infantry; but that the report was, that all was to arrive in two or three days; and as soon as it came, an attack was to be made upon our lines; that the army had nevertheless advanced to excite the courage of the besieged, and check the vigour of our attacks. The Marshal hearing this account of their want of cannon, said, that if he had had a doubt about the propriety of giving battle, it would have been removed by that circumstance. He then lay down again to rest, not to sleep, for I do not think that being on the point of an engagement, wherein the risk of his life was the least consideration, he could compose himself to sleep as easily as if the next was to be a mere idle day. For my part, when I read of Alexander's sleeping so sound the eve of the battle of Arbella, that he could with difficulty be

awaked, I am of opinion that if the fact be true, he must have shammed sleep out of vanity, or have been dead drunk. I who have no affectation, confess that I could not go to sleep again, but arose and went to my hut to be shaved, and a little before daylight, mounted a horse of the Count of Soissons, for all my equipage was left at Montreuil, with that of many others, and meeting with the royal regiment near my hut, just arrived from its quarters, I took the command of it; and as we were marching out of the lines, joined the Marshal and other officers.—Is Bussy going to head the royal regiment to-day? says he.—It is the only command I can take.—Do so, if you like it, replies he; but Crequy is to command the right wing.—I answered, we shall agree very well together.

As the Downs hemmed us in close on the left, and many little pools on the right, we could only march two squadrons abreast, and therefore divided our 13 squadrons into seven lines. Ten paces before me, marched in two corps, an hundred men of Montgomery's infantry, commanded by two brave captains, L'Estan and Bénac.

We had five pieces of cannon with this little corps of infantry, and the regiment of Britanny infantry followed close behind us, to assist us if requisite. We thus moved on slowly, and the French guards forming themselves upon our model, the whole van-guard marched in an exact regular line under the side of the Downs.

A moment after, I reflected on the manner in which we were going to attack the enemy, and it occured to me that if the regiment of Britanny passed beyond the little ditches on our right, its fire might rake the flank of the Prince of Conde's cavalry which composed the enemy's left wing, and by that means facilitate the attack of our horse. I proposed this plan to Crequy, who approved of it, and ordered Escouet, Lieut. Colonel of the regiment, to advance. Crequy then went to another part of our line, and I saw him no more.

About the same time a man rode past me, coming from the left wing,

who said aloud that Castelnau had defeated the enemy on the other wing. As I knew nothing of the array of the Spanish army, I took it for granted that Marshal Turenne had sent this cavalier to our wing, to excite our emulation, and very likely had sent another to the other wing with the same story for the same purpose; so that I humoured the idea, and repeated the speech to the officers near me, as if I had believed it.

I have already said that the opinions entertained by the enemy, of the probability that their approach would encourage the besieged and dishearten us, had induced them to march on, before their artillery, or the rest of their infantry were arrived. They expected that we should do as we had done at Valenciennes, where we let them remain in sight for ten days without molestation; so that when they now saw us march out of our lines, their surprise was extreme; nor was there so raw a soldier in our whole wing that did not judge by their aukward countenance, that they would be beaten. Our cannon thinned the ranks of their cavalry, and the Prince of Condé was obliged to make his volunteers and forlorn hope lie flat on their faces.

When the regiment of Britanny came up on our right, the Prince made a regiment of Spanish infantry march down across from the Downs or sand hills, on his right to face it.

The Spanish right wing was ranged upon the high sand hills, which formed a crescent with the right point, much nearer Dunkirk than the left, and that was the reason why Castelnau had met with the enemy rather sooner than we did with the Prince of Condé.

When I had advanced within 200 paces of the enemy, I found a ditch in our way, which although a mere gutter, was nevertheless broad enough to throw our squadron into some disorder as they passed it. I took it for granted that the Prince's men would not let slip so fair an opportunity of charging; but far from it, his forlorn hope arose, gave us a wretched fire that did not hurt a single man, then threw down their arms, and ran away

through the ranks of their cavalry. Their two front squadrons did the same without even firing a pistol; so that our people, encouraged by their flight, rode on full speed after them. I was afraid matters would not long continue so favourable, especially as we had to do with the Prince, who in such situations had resources few generals have; and therefore I prevented the squadron of the right side, at whose head I rode, from disbanding; but that of the left side, and that behind it were gone before I could give proper orders. In fact the Prince, accompanied by Coligny, Boutteville, Meille, and other persons of quality and merit that he had with him, rallied at the head of two squadrons, and finding our troops in disorder, drove them back with slaughter above two hundred paces. Seeing the storm likely to break on my head, and finding I had only three squadrons left with me, I drew off to the right, where we had rather more room, and the marshes formed a kind of elbow between us and the enemy. I made my troop face the road, and leave space for our runaways to retreat; I was now on the point of charging the Prince's flank, when the battalion of French guards which was drawn up on the sand hill next the road, on a kind of amphitheatre, made their discharge upon the Prince's troop with such precision that scarce a ball missed its aim. His own horse was killed under him, his general officers taken, and almost all wounded: the remainder got away as well and as fast as they could. But as the French guards saw me marching with our horses heads towards them, they took us for enemies, and detached a platoon of musqueteers who would have given us a cruel salute, if I had not made myself known in time. My five squadrons were much diminished in numbers, for many had fallen, or were wounded, and others had retired with their prisoners. Soon after, perceiving that a regiment of Spanish infantry was endeavouring to gain the bridge over the canal of Furnes, I galloped up and interrupted them, completely making every man of them prisoners. This was the regiment which the Prince had brought down to face that of Britanny.

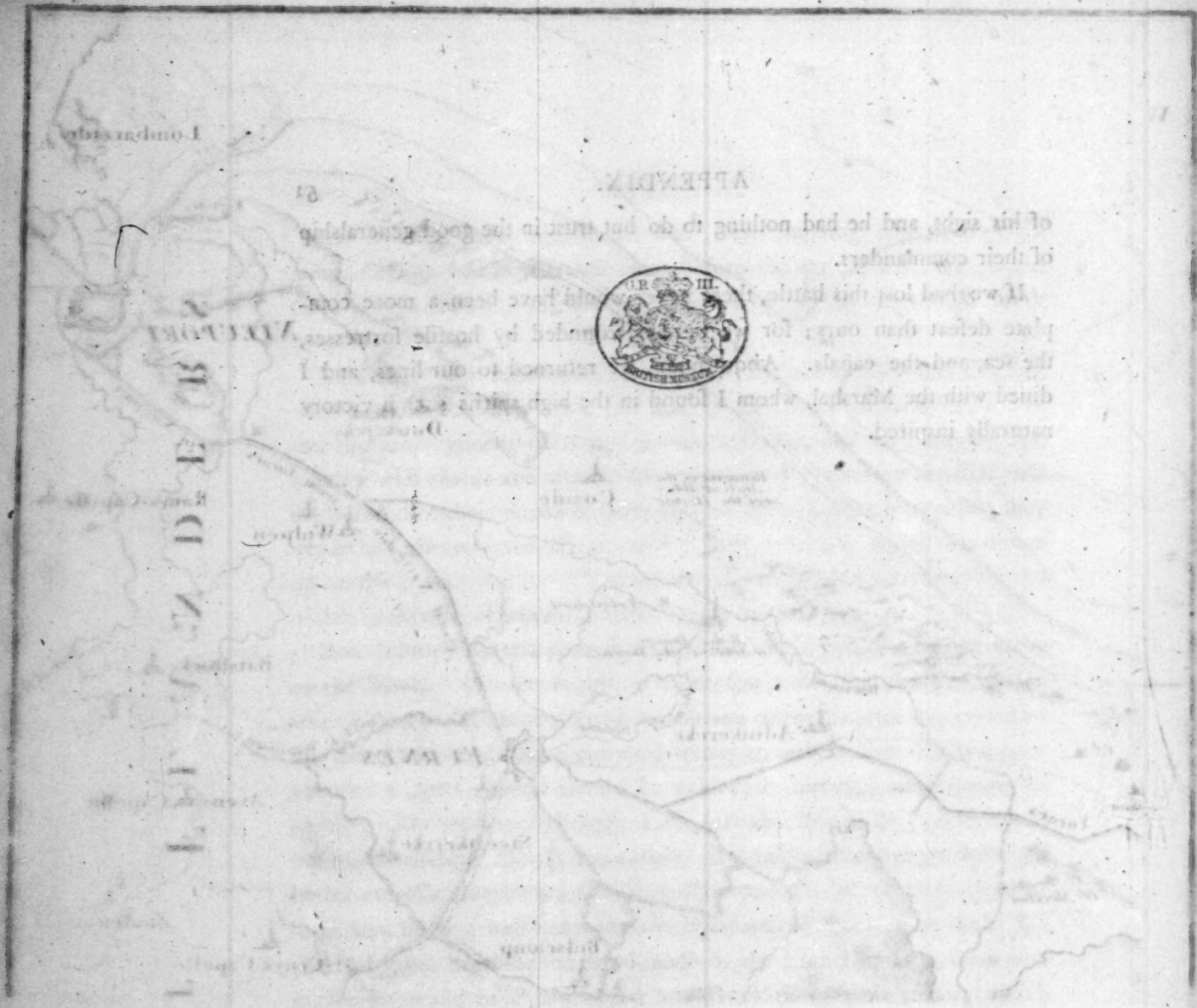
As to the eight squadrons that were missing from our right wing, Crequy had withdrawn them before the action, and had placed them in the Downs, to be in readiness to act as he should think proper.

The affair was conducted on our left as follows:——the English, with Lockhart at their head, climbed up the Down, or sand hill, where the Spanish regiment of Boniface was stationed, and encouraging one another with shouts and words, the second rank helped up the first with the but-end of their muskets; nevertheless, with all their intrepidity, they would have been beaten if our cavalry of the left wing, which was drawn up on the strand, had not advanced round the hill, and attacked the rear of the Spaniards, of whom 500 were slain on that spot.

Don John of Austria committed a great fault in not posting any horse on the beach. The reason given to me for it was, that the tide was in when he drew out his army, and the cannon of the English ships reached the shore, and might have annoyed him extremely. But that is a poor excuse: a good general should be guided by his eye, and change his orders as circumstances change: I am sure the Prince of Condé would not have committed such an oversight. It is impossible to draw one's self better out of a scrape than he did on this occasion. When he charged us in person, he very well knew that the Spaniards were beaten on the right; yet, had it not been for the stand made by the French guards, I am persuaded he would have penetrated into Dunkirk with his cavalry, which would have been a most extraordinary feat in warlike history, to succour a town after losing a battle. Castelnau, and Varennes under him, did themselves honcur. The Count of Soissons at the head of the Swiss guards, broke the line of infantry opposite to him. As for Turenne, he remained constantly behind the first line of our infantry, from whence he could see every thing that passed among the sand hills, and correct and direct as the urgency of the case might require. The two wings were out

of his sight, and he had nothing to do but trust in the good generalship of their commanders.

If we had lost this battle, there never would have been a more complete defeat than ours; for we were surrounded by hostile fortresses, the sea, and the canals. About noon, we returned to our lines, and I dined with the Marshal, whom I found in the high spirits such a victory naturally inspired.


G R III.

DUNKIRK AND ITS ROAD

with THE ENVIRONS from *GRAVELINES* &ca. to *NIEUPORT*.

British Statute Miles

Nautic Leagues

French Middling Leagues

LONDON. Printed for William Faden Geographer to THE KING and to H.R.H. THE PRINCE OF WALES.

The Soundings are Fathoms

Meridian of PARIS 2°25 47 East of LONDON

Edge of the Bree Brack or Broad Brack

WEST CHANNEL

EAST CHANNEL

the Brack

the Heist

the Cams or Trappegeer

the Broers

the Geere

the Snau or Splinter

the Wilbraert

Plateau de Mardick

THE ROAD

an English Fleet of eighteen Ships of war anchored here during the Siege of 1658

Carcagnols Gun Boats 1793

Old Light House

Parallel of DUNKIRK 51° 2. N.

Black Buoy

White Buoy

Feet

Fathoms

Batteries

Risban

DUNKIRK

Battery de Revers

CITADEL

Fort Mardick

Fort Revers

Fort Louis

Fort Francois

Fort Leopold

Fort Philippe

Fort Uxem

Fort of Galloo 1793

Fort Vert

Fort Blanc

Fort Rouge

Fort Jalousie

Fort Mardick

Fort Revers

Fort Louis

Fort Francois

Fort Leopold

Fort Philippe

Fort Uxem

Fort Vert

Fort Blanc

Fort Rouge

Fort Jalousie

Fort de la Pissotte

Fort de la Fissotte

Redoubt

Redoubt of Mardick

Redoubt of Fort Louis

Redoubt of Fort Francois

Redoubt of Fort Leopold

Redoubt of Fort Philippe

Redoubt of Fort Uxem

Redoubt of Fort Vert

Redoubt of Fort Blanc

Redoubt of Fort Rouge

Redoubt of Fort Jalousie

Redoubt of Fort de la Pissotte

Redoubt of Fort de la Fissotte

Redoubt of Fort Mardick

Redoubt of Fort Revers